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THE DIPHILOS-DROMIPPOS LECYTHI, AND THEIR
RELATION TO MR. BEAZLEY'S "ACHILLES
MASTER."

IN 1916, the University Museum in Philadelphia acquired a very important Attic white lecythus, Inv. no., MS. 5463 (Fig. 1) bearing the inscription $\Delta\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Xi$ KAAOC. It is this vase that is the subject of this paper, as it seems to me to be a "missing link" that binds the Diphilos group to the other white lecythi correctly assigned by Mr. J. D. Beazley to his "Achilles Master."¹

This vase, before coming to Philadelphia, was in the Borelli Bey collection, which was dispersed in Paris in 1913; in the sale catalogue of that collection it was given the number 223. In referring to it, therefore, I shall speak of it as "the Borelli lecythus."² It is 0.385 m. in height. The mouth, handle, upper part of the neck, and lower part of the body are covered with the black glaze; the foot and upper end of the lip are left in the color of the clay; while the rest of the body is covered with the firm, hard, cream-colored slip, characteristic of the earlier white lecythi. It is said to have been found in Athens.

In another place³ I have described the subject of this vase, and shall take the liberty of quoting from that description.

"The subject is of great beauty, simplicity, and restraint. At the left sits a woman (Fig. 1, A) with a circle of beads in her hands; she is evidently stringing them for use as a necklace. The chair in which she sits is of a graceful and beautiful design, and is drawn in a black wash on the cream-colored background. Her hair is rendered in the same manner. She is wearing two garments, a chiton and a himation, the chiton being the under-garment. This is rendered in a chalky white, much of which has flaked off,

¹ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, pp. 179-226, and especially pp. 219-222.

² It is published in the sale catalogue, pl. XXIII, and also in the *Museum Journal* of the University Museum, VIII, 1917, pp. 21-25, and figs. 3 and 4.

³ *Museum Journal*, l. c. p. 22.

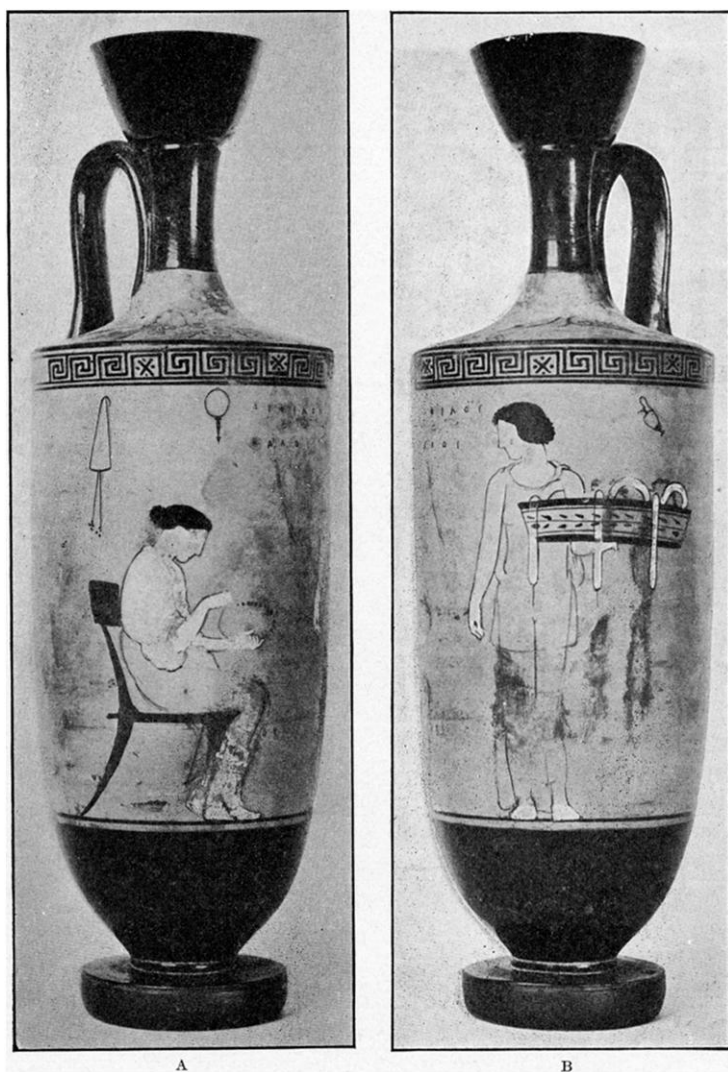


FIGURE 1.—THE BORELLI LECYTHUS: PHILADELPHIA.

the idea being in this manner, perhaps, naturalistically to show the brilliant white of clean linen. The himation, being a shawl-like wrap of a heavier material, was rendered in the color of the background. Flesh parts are in this same chalky white, in a manner which, as will be shown, is peculiar to the maker of this

vase. Above her, in the field, are hanging a mirror, and a long pouch, drawn together with strings, called by archaeologists a 'sakkos.'

"In front of her stands another woman (Fig. 1, B), in a long, simple chiton, without sleeves. In her left hand she carries a large tray or basket, from which hang three fillets of white, and two longer ones of red, and which is filled with offerings of various sorts. Her right arm and hand hang at her side, and are most beautifully rendered. Above her, in the field, hangs an exquisite little pitcher. Between the two women is inscribed the dedicatory inscription, ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟC."

The existence of a group of vases with the *καλός*-name Diphilos, and all by the same hand, was first definitely shown by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet.¹ In an able article he grouped together twelve vases as being by the same master, four of which have the name Diphilos, three Glaucon, two Dromippos, and one each, Lichas, Alcimedes, and Axiopieithes. This last is the famous "Spinelli" lecythus (Fig. 5), now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and a very important vase in the theory which it is my hope to prove in this article. Another vase with the name of Lichas, also in Boston, should be included with these vases of Bosanquet's (Fig. 6)².

Mr. Bosanquet proves, with what seems to me absolute certainty, that this group of vases should be dated at about 465 B.C. This date he obtains both on grounds of technique, and because it seems possible to link one of the *καλός*-names (Lichas) with an historical character.³

It is not my intention to furnish a complete list of Diphilos vases, but it will be worth while to see what new ones have come to light since Bosanquet's article. Klein⁴ adds one (in the Museo Artistico Industriale at Rome) to Mr. Bosanquet's list, and Mr. Bosanquet's No. 7, which was in the trade in Paris when he wrote his article, is located by Klein in the Tyszkiewicz collection.⁵

¹ *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, pp. 164-177, and pls. IV-VII. See also Weissshaeupl, *Ath. Mitt.* XV, 1890, pp. 49 f.

² *J.H.S.* l. c. pp. 167-168, footnote 6.

³ *J. H. S.* l. c. p. 167.

⁴ *Lieblingsinschriften*, s. v. 'Diphilos,' pp. 159-160.

⁵ I was at first tempted to believe that the Borelli vase might be the same as the Tyszkiewicz vase; but a reference to Fairbanks (see next note) proves that they are different.

Dr. Fairbanks¹ adds no new vases to the regular Diphilos group, but he cites a vase with this name, of a technique which he considers later, now in the Museum of Berlin.² He says that this is perhaps a different Diphilos from the one referred to above, although he is inclined to believe that it is the same, as the



FIGURE 2.—LECYTHUS IN ATHENS, NO. 1629.

vases are almost contemporaneous. This vase has since been assigned by Mr. Beazley to his Achilles master.³

Mr. R. C. McMahon, writing in 1907, almost at the same time as Dr. Fairbanks, declares that he has seen eleven lecythi with the *καλός*-name Diphilos.⁴ Most of these must have been in

¹ *Athenian White Lekythoi*, vol. I (Univ. of Mich. Humanistic Series, vol. VI), pp. 161-164. I shall in future refer to Fairbanks, vol. I or vol. II as the case may be, not to the numbers of the volumes in the Michigan series.

² *L. c.* pp. 222-23, no. 44, Berlin, Inv. 3970.

³ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, p. 221, no. 7 bis.

⁴ *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, p. 18, footnote 1.

Athens, as Nicole's supplementary catalogue gives us six new Diphilos vases, and two new ones with Dromippos.¹

The best place to study the Diphilos-Dromippos group is now in Riezler's *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen*, the plates of which admirably reproduce the salient features of these vases.² It was to these plates and the article of Bosanquet that I turned in trying to identify the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia as a *bona fide* member of the Diphilos-Dromippos group.



FIGURE 3.—LECYTHUS IN ATHENS, No. 1628.

Although there are certain differences that make it a variant from the normal Diphilos type, I shall try to prove that this vase is a work of the same hand as the regular vases of the group. The two most important differences are that the palmette design on the shoulder seems to be of a slightly different order from most of the vases in Bosanquet's list, and that the patronymic ΜΕΛΑΝΟΠΟ is omitted from the *καλός*-name. I shall return to the palmette-design later; about the patronymic, it is sufficient to say that many other Diphilos vases also omit it.

¹ Diphilos, nos. 986-991; Dromippos, 992, 993. No. 990 is published in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1906, pl. I; no. 991, *ibid.* pl. II.

² Pls. II-IX. Plates X and XII seem to me also to belong in this group, although they have no *καλός*-names.

Turning now to points of similarity, I would refer, for an earlier and almost exact, although artistically not as beautiful, replica of the Borelli vase, to a lecythus in Athens (Fig. 2).¹ The resemblance there is so close that they can only be by the same hand. If further proof be needed, another lecythus in Athens will provide it (Fig. 3).² The figure on the right is almost identical with the corresponding figure on the Borelli vase (Fig. 1, B).

When we add that practically the same color schemes as well as artistic technique are employed, particularly the same use of white overcolor for flesh parts and details of drapery, it seems to make the attribution indisputable. When we add further that



FIGURE 4.—PALMETTE ON SHOULDER OF LECYTHUS.

on the shoulder of the Philadelphia vase is painted a palmette-design identical with one reproduced by Mr. Bosanquet (Fig. 4),³ it seems to add a finishing touch, although we have noticed that this shoulder-design is also a point of divergence. On a later page I shall discuss this matter at some length. Suffice it to say at this point that Mr. Bosanquet considers it the latest of the three designs that he copies, and thinks that it came at the end

of the period of "white flesh technique" already mentioned as a peculiarity of this group of vases.

I have now shown, and, I trust, without question, what, after all, would be the natural conclusion to reach; namely, that the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia is by the same hand as the rest of the Diphilos-Dromippos group. The harder task remains; *i.e.*, to attempt to prove that this group is by the so-called "Achilles master," so successfully identified by Mr. Beazley.⁴ I should

¹ Collignon-Couve, 1629, Inv. 1923. Illustration from Riezler, pl. VII. Fairbanks, I, p. 162, no. 12, where a bibliography will be found. Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 165, no. 6.

² Collignon-Couve, 1628, Inv. 1963. Illustration from Riezler, pl. IV. For a reproduction in colors, see *ibid.* pl. IV a. Fairbanks, *l. c.* p. 161, no. 10. Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 165, no. 5.

³ *L. c.* pp. 174-177, and especially fig. 5, form C, here reproduced.

⁴ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, pp. 179-226.

add, in support of my attempt, that Mr. Beazley himself has already granted that "many of the other lecythi with Diphilos bear a strong resemblance to our group" (that of the Achilles painter).¹ I believe that this is because they are actually by the same hand.

In 1899, Mr. Bosanquet published² a second article on the subject of white lecythi, in which he groups together twenty-one vases as by the same hand. These he calls the "Hygiainon

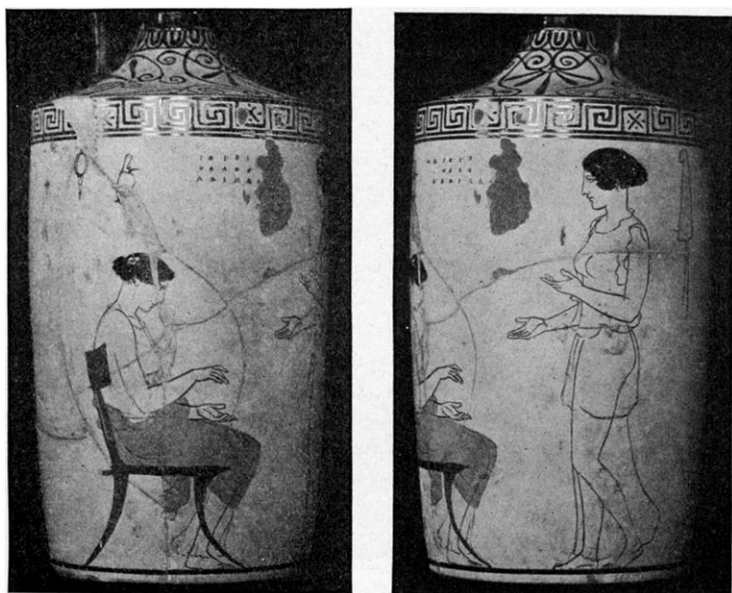


FIGURE 5.—THE SPINELLI LECYTHUS: BOSTON.

group," from the leading *καλός*-name found among them. Among these vases he includes the "Spinelli" lecythus,³ and therefore, as he considers them of later date, removes it from the Diphilos-Dromippos group, although he declares that it forms a connecting link between the two types. Mr. Beazley includes

¹ *L. c.* p. 220, footnote 35. The reason for the word "other" is because he believes the vase in Berlin with the name of Diphilos to be by the Achilles painter. See p. 22, and footnote 3 above.

² *J.H.S.* XIX, 1899, pp. 169-184, and especially pp. 178-181.

³ *L. c.* p. 180, vase B.

nineteen of Mr. Bosanquet's list in his catalogue of white lecythi by the Achilles master,¹ among them the Spinelli lecythus.²

It is plain that the points of resemblance between the Spinelli vase and the Diphilos-Dromippos group, as well as the points of divergence, are just as obvious now as when Mr. Bosanquet wrote his first article. I would, therefore, suggest that he is right in grouping it with this class of vases, and at the same time not wrong in assigning it to the Hygiainon group, which, in turn, is, as we have seen, given by Mr. Beazley to his Achilles master. In other words, I believe that the vases of the Diphilos-Dromippos group are early works of the Achilles master, and that the lecythus in Philadelphia is the missing link that binds them together.

Through the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, I am enabled at this point to insert photographs of the Spinelli lecythus (Fig. 5), which has already been published and described many times.³ This vase, acquired by Boston in 1913, has the inventory number 13.187. It is justly regarded as one of the finest white lecythi that has come down to us.

A hint that we are dealing with the same man who produced the Diphilos-Dromippos group, is afforded by the *καλός*-name, where we find, as in that group of vases, the rather unusual addition of the patronymic, written *στοιχηδόν*, in letters of almost identical form. A comparison of these various *καλός*-inscriptions will be found below.⁴

In the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia, the patronymic is omitted, but the inscription is otherwise written exactly as in the other Diphilos-Dromippos vases, *i.e.*, $\Delta\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Xi$ $\overline{\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\text{OC}}$, even

¹ Two of them, Bosanquet J and T, he does not include, and Bosanquet P (Beazley 37) he includes "with some hesitation" (*l. c.* p. 222, footnote 36).

² This vase is Beazley 36.

³ Fairbanks, I, p. 215, no. 32; II, p. 249, no. 32, pl. XL; *Röm. Mitt.* 1887, pl. XII, 5, etc.

⁴ Spinelli vase:	Usual Diphilos, <i>e.g.</i> , Riezler, pl. V.	Usual Dromippos, <i>e.g.</i> , Riezler, pl. II.
$\Delta\Xi\Gamma\Theta\Gamma\text{E}\Gamma[\Theta\text{H}]\Xi$	$\Delta\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Xi$	$\Delta\text{POM}\Gamma\Gamma\text{O}\Xi$
$\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\text{OC}$	$\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\text{OC}$	$\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\text{O}\Xi$
$\text{A}\Lambda\text{K}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}+[\text{O}]$	$\text{M}\text{E}\Lambda\text{N}\text{O}\Gamma\text{O}$	$\Delta\text{POMOK}\Lambda\text{E}\text{I}\Delta\text{O}$

For other *καλός*-names in this group see Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, p. 165. A white lecythus with the name Alcimachus, father of Axiopeithes, and probably by the same hand, is in Athens (Riezler, pl. III); see also Klein, *Liebingsinschr.*, pp. 165-166.

including the quasi-lunate sigma in *καλός*, common to many of the Diphilos vases and to the Spinelli lecythus,¹ and to another lecythus with the name of Axiopeithes, also in Boston.² On epigraphical grounds, therefore, it is very tempting to assume that all of these vases are by the same hand; but this is extremely unsafe, as the hand that painted the inscriptions may not have been the hand that actually painted the designs on the vases. We can only say that it proves at most that the inscriptions must have been done by one man, and that, therefore, the "white-flesh technique" of the Diphilos-Dromippos group is contemporaneous with the different technique of the Hygiainon class. In any case, however, the epigraphy would point to all of these vases coming from the same workshop.

Another reason to think this to be true has already been touched upon. We have seen that there is a lecythus with the name Diphilos, in Berlin, which has been assigned by Dr. Fairbanks to the Hygiainon group, and by Mr. Beazley to the Achilles master. Dr. Fairbanks considers that it is highly probable that the Diphilos on this vase may refer to the same Diphilos as the other vases, and it seems to me that this is almost surely the case.³

Coming now to questions of technique, let us compare the seated figures on the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia (Fig. 1, A) and the Spinelli lecythus in Boston (Fig. 5). With the exception of the fact that the Philadelphia vase employs the "white-flesh technique," there is very little difference between the two. They are, indeed, identical, even in the manner of the treatment of the drapery, the pose of the arms and hands, the dressing of the hair, the position of the feet, and the slight flare of the chiton at the ankles. The chair, too, is painted in exactly the same manner, with the cross-pieces of the seat indicated by groups of three lines placed at equal distances from each other. It is perhaps a little more carefully rendered in the Philadelphia lecythus, which, indeed, is the more carefully painted of the two, although the excellent preservation of the colors and the rich texture of the white slip on the Boston vase make it the more pleasing today.

¹ *E.g.*, Nicole, 994; 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1905, pl. I; Riezler, pls. V, VII, and perhaps IX.

² Beazley, 35. Fairbanks, *l. c.* II, p. 249, no. 32 a, pl. XLI.

³ Fairbanks, I, pp. 222-223, no. 44. Beazley, *l. c.* p. 221, no. 7 bis. Unfortunately, this vase is unpublished, and I have not seen it. There seems to be no way under present conditions of securing a photograph of it.

In the field, in each vase, is hung a mirror, an oenochoe, and a *sakkos*. In the Borelli lecythus, the mirror and *sakkos* are over the seated figure, the oenochoe above the standing; in the Spinelli, it is the mirror and oenochoe which are at the left, and the *sakkos* at the right.

I think that anybody who, with an open mind, compares these two seated figures carefully, will agree with me that only one hand could have produced them both. In the face, I have only to call attention to the profile of the lips, and the firm, round chin of both figures, to prove this. It is unfortunate that in the Philadelphia specimen the "white flesh technique" was employed; for, when it flaked off, it took with it many details that I am convinced would have shown the same method of treatment which we see in the Spinelli vase, as, for instance, the treatment of the eyes—a most important item, as all students of Greek vases know—and of the mouth. Still, it seems to me that enough is left to make my attribution absolutely certain.

It will, however, be said in objection, "But your right-hand figure in the Spinelli vase (Fig. 5) is superior to anything in the Diphilos-Dromippos group." This is true; in the freedom of the pose, and in such details as the drawing of the feet, for instance, a great advance has been made. But it is also true that we can see this advance in the seated figure on the Borelli vase, where the feet are properly drawn, and we have shown that this Borelli vase must be classed with the other Diphilos-Dromippos specimens.¹ On the other hand, a glance at some of the plates and figures of "Achilles" vases in Beazley's article² shows that this master was very uneven, and that his treatment of the foot can be just as bad as on some of the Diphilos-Dromippos vases, so that this is not a good criterion. Furthermore, he always draws the foot in full front exactly as it is drawn in the Diphilos vases. Moreover, apart from the increased freedom of pose, the profile and other details show the same tendencies in this right-hand figure in the Boston lecythus that we find in the Diphilos specimens.

Two vases that can be compared with each other to supplement and confirm this theory of mine, are the lecythus in Bos-

¹ For the drawing of the feet on the Diphilos-Dromippos vases, compare the illustrations from Riezler reproduced above (Figs. 2 and 3).

² *L. c.*, especially pls. XIII and XIV, and figs. 3, 4, 5, 8 a, 13, 14, 15, and 23.

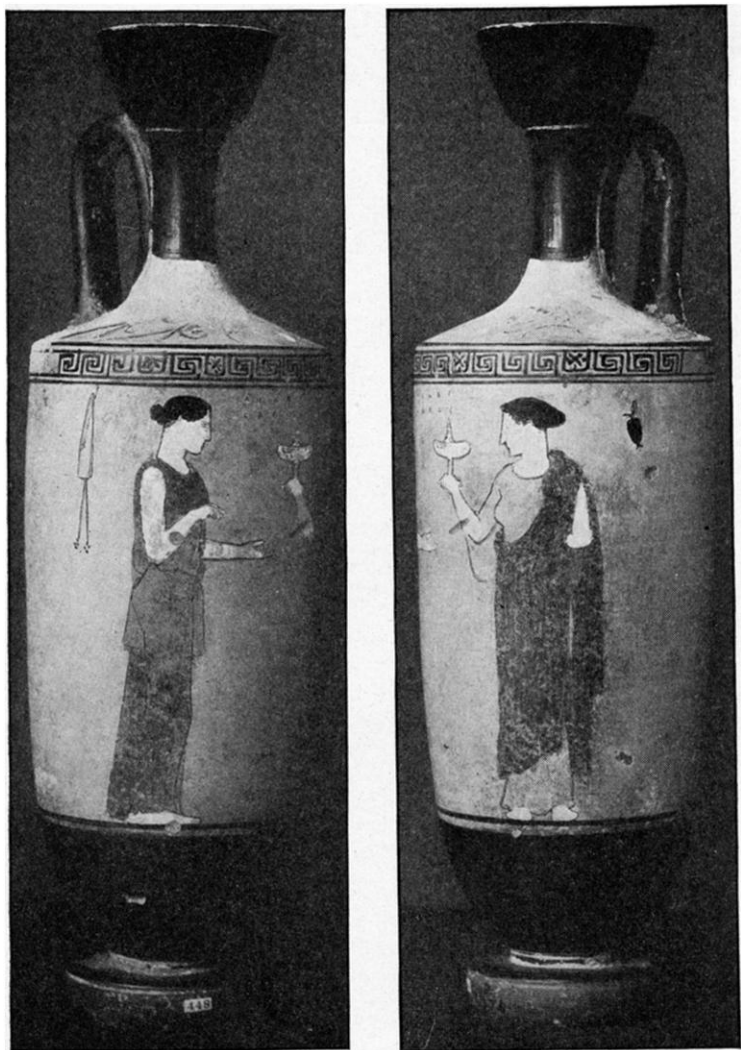


FIGURE 6.—THE LICHAS LECYTHUS: BOSTON.

ton already referred to, with the *καλός*-name Lichas (Fig. 6),¹ a work of the Diphiolos-Dromippos group, and the beautiful Hygiainon lecythus in the Art Museum of Worcester, Mass. (Fig. 7),² already assigned by Mr. Beazley to his Achilles

¹ Published, Riezler, text, p. 18, fig. 11; Fairbanks, I, p. 165, no. 15.

² Published, Fairbanks, I, p. 217, no. 35, and pl. IX, 1.

master.¹ Here again, I think that the Boston vase is an early work by the same hand.²

A small detail, but one that adds cumulative evidence that brings with it a weight of its own to prove all this, is the fact that



FIGURE 7.—THE HYGIAINON LECYTHUS: WORCESTER.

the decorative patterns above the designs on these vases are strikingly alike in nearly every case. They are identical on the

¹ *L. c.* p. 221, no. 24.

² An even better example is British Museum, D50, published by Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, pl. VI, also a Lichas vase.

Borelli and Spinelli vases, and also on the Worcester vase and the Lichas lecythus in Boston. This is, of course, a small point, but of a very special importance, as the patterns used on the Borelli and Lichas vases seem to be favorites of the Achilles master.

Another significant feature is the palmette-design on the shoulder (Fig. 4). Mr. Bosanquet, in his first article, says he is ignorant of any of the Diphilos-Dromippos vases with this design. His exact words¹ are as follows:—"Of Form C (Fig. 4 of this article) I cannot give an instance among the twelve vases of our series. On No. 11,² where we should expect to find it, the shoulder pattern is obliterated; on No. 12 (the Spinelli vase) I have no information. We find it for the first time on the Boston Lichas-vase (Fig. 6 of this article) . . . which is among the latest instances of the use of white for women's flesh. Broadly speaking, Form A³ disappeared at the same time as this white-flesh technique, and was replaced by Form C."

Now we find that the Borelli vase in Philadelphia has this Form C, that it has the *καλός*-name Diphilos, the "white-flesh technique," and is obviously by the same hand as the other vases of the Diphilos-Dromippos group, and that not only on grounds of technique, but on the cumulative evidence offered by the decoration, it should be put late in that group. Furthermore, the Hygiainon vases collected by Mr. Bosanquet in his second article all seem to have this shoulder design,⁴ and since the acquisition of the Spinelli lecythus by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, it has become clear that it, too, has the same arrangement of palmettes, thereby helping to prove that the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia is a "missing link" that binds the two groups (Diphilos-Dromippos and Hygiainon) together, and points to all being works of the "Achilles master."

We have now approached the problem from three points of view. First of all, there was the epigraphy of the vases, in which we saw that the nature of the inscriptions, the manner of their writing, and the forms of the letters were identical in both groups, suggesting that they all came from the same workshop. In the

¹ *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, p. 175.

² This is Oxford, 266, P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Ashmolean Museum*, pl. XX, and Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 165. It has the inscription ΑΛΚΙΜ(Η)ΔΗΞ ΚΑΛΟΞ ΑΙΞ+ΥΑΙΔΟ.

³ Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 175, fig. 3.

⁴ *J.H.S.* XIX, 1899, p. 179, fig. 5.

second place, and most important of all, we took up the subject of artistic technique, and tried to show that, from that angle, both groups were works of the same hand. Finally, we have studied the decorative patterns, such as the borders and shoulder decorations, and found that the borders used are found in the known works of the Achilles painter, and that the palmette-design on the shoulder of the Borelli vase is of great importance, as it provides the link that binds the two groups together. From all these points of view, I can arrive at but one conclusion: namely, that in future, among the works of the Achilles master, we must include, as early works, the white lecythi of the Diphilos-Dromippos group. The large number of vases already known to be by his hand indicates that his work extended over a long period, and therefore this conclusion is entirely justifiable.¹

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¹ I wish to thank several people at this point for various kindnesses for which I am extremely grateful. First of all, I want to thank my old teacher, Professor George H. Chase, of Harvard University, without whose encouragement I should probably not have written this paper. To Dr. G. B. Gordon, my chief in the University Museum, I am indebted for permission to publish the lecythus in Philadelphia, and for many other courtesies. To Dr. Arthur Fairbanks and Dr. Lacey D. Caskey, of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, I am indebted for permission to republish the Spinelli vase, and for a generous collection of photographs of vases in their possession of which they permitted me to make any use I pleased. I owe the same debt to Miss Gisela M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. To the authorities of the Worcester Art Museum I am greatly indebted for photographs of the Hygieion lecythus in their possession.